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ABSTRACT

Classroom practices of selected teachers in two school districts were studied to provide a research base for the development of inservice training in newly desegregated or multiethnic schools. This report discusses the second study, which tested the validity of implications drawn from the first study. Schools in the second study had initiated magnet programs with two formats: an extended learning program for gifted children; and a back to basics program. Seven teachers from two elementary schools participated in the study. Ethnographic observers, film, and self-report by the teachers were used to collect data. Following a description of the characteristics of the teachers and classrooms, observations on findings in six areas are presented: (1) instructional practices; (2) classroom management; (3) encouraging social interaction; (4) inculcation of values; (5) involvement with the community; and (6) followup discussions with the teachers. A comparison of the findings in the two studies showed the low priority of inservice training in school districts, the noninvolvement of the principals, and difficulties faced by teachers in achieving their needs in multicultural education methods. It is concluded that, since the proportion of minority students is increasing, schools must examine the components of successful multiethnic school environments and must address questions that have, in many cases, been avoided. (PG)

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Multi-Ethnic School Environments

ACCOMMODATING DIVERSITY:

AN ASSESSMENT OF TEACHER TRAINING NEEDS IN NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the results of an ethnographic study conducted by the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project to validate and expand upon the findings of an earlier study of teacher training needs in newly desegregated schools. Teachers and research staff collaborated to assess: classroom management and instructional strategies, value inculcation, the impact of administrative decisions, and the instructional and social requirements for successful multi-ethnic classrooms. The paper confirms the need for special preparation for teachers in desegregating schools and outlines criteria for designing appropriate training vehicles.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project is funded at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development by the National Institute of Education to document the kinds of inservice training needed by teachers in newly desegregated or multiethnic schools. The long-range goal of the Project is the design of training processes for inservice education which can be implemented by districts' staff development departments, or by faculty at a school site. As a research base for the development of such training, two ethnographic studies have been conducted in school districts undergoing their first year of voluntary desegregation. The first study, in Valley City (pseudonym), was an exploratory study which used a multidisciplinary approach to analysis. Data analysts representing the perspectives of educational psychology, sociology, social psychology, and administration each produced reports which examined key issues related to teacher effectiveness and educational equity. These topics were moral socialization, socioemotional development of students, teacher planning and administrative issues. Comparative conclusions were drawn about the kinds of problems teachers faced, and the effects of the strategies they used to address these problems and the goal of reducing social distance and encouraging social integration among students. In order to test the validity of the implications about teacher training needs which were drawn from the exploratory study, a second study was undertaken in another school district which had similar general characteristics. It was assumed that the differences between the environments, teacher styles, and mixes of students would allow us to refine and expand our understanding of the factors influencing the success of teachers in dealing with the challenges of pluralistic classrooms.

The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the issues which were raised in our previous examination of teacher training needs based on the exploratory study (Beckum & Dasho, 1980; Beckum, Dasho & Crist-Whitzel, 1980), adding further insights and provisos based on the second ethnographic study. The presentation of selected findings will be followed by a discussion of implications drawn for the ways that models of teacher training programs can be designed to reflect the existing dynamics of multiethnic schools.

The writing of this paper poses a challenge that admits of only less than satisfactory solutions. It is not possible to present and discuss the texture and detail of ethnographic research within the context of this paper. Recommendations for needed teacher training or characterizations of the state and future of desegregation would appear as rhetoric or personal opinion without reference to the data upon which such assertions were based. The space limitations of conference reporting formats have always worked to the disadvantage of the qualitative studies. The authors refer the critical reader to the complete research reports for details about the methodology and conceptual framework of the ideas presented herein. We have taken the approach that the most important task at hand is to document the conditions of the newly desegregated schools in sufficient detail so that it is possible to make prescriptive statements about how to foster goals of social integration in public educational institutions. The authors recognize that in the process of offering our insights and understandings about the need to develop models of training specific to the needs of multiethnic classrooms that there are several literatures which could have been brought to bear upon the topic. Organizational studies, research on crosscultural research on the problems of minority education in Europe as well as studies of institutional and educational innovation are all germane to a

full understanding of the topic. However, our modest intention here is to offer some thought-provoking arguments and observations which represent the concerns of the practitioners--i.e., the technical assistance agencies, IHEs and school district staff development departments who are faced with the task of accommodating student diversity.

II. RESEARCH DESIGN

A. Data Collection

The Vista Grande (pseudonym) School District instituted four magnet schools to begin the desegregation of its elementary schools. A teachers' strike delayed the implementation of the plan and our entry into the schools until November. The side effect was to reduce the number of students who had originally signed up for transfer to magnet programs. The district and principals felt that teachers would be reticent to participate in the study--being sensitive to observation by outsiders following the strike. We were able to gain the support of two principals and eventually recruited seven teachers to participate in the study. Both of the two magnet formats initiated in the district were represented--an extended learning program (ELP) for gifted children, and a fundamentals, i.e., back-to-basics, format.

Ethnographic observers were trained to produce detailed narrative histories of teacher-student and student-student interactions. Other data included interviews with teachers, students, and principals, as well as observations on the playground and at special events. The teachers audiotaped daily self-reports in response to a set of predetermined questions concerning events during the day, e.g., reflections on the students or the notable successes or difficulties of various activities warranting mention. All day observations were carried out for twelve days in each classroom during the fall of 1980. Reliability of field notes was assured by having film checks during training with specific criteria on event rotation, by monitoring in the field by the trainer, and by rotating ethnographers so that each classroom was observed by two persons.

B. Data Analysis

Following the completion of the data collection, case studies were generated which summarized the structure and dynamics of each classroom (Dasho et al. 1981a). These case studies were basically descriptive rather than evaluative, although assessment of the efficacy of teaching practices and consideration of the effects of teacher behavior on students was unavoidable.

Each case study presented descriptions of the "performers" (teacher, students, other relevant school personnel) and the setting (description of school and classroom and seating chart), the teacher's pedagogical philosophy, instructional format and academic content, classroom management procedures, and efforts to encourage social integration. The students who were leaders or adjustment problems were profiled. Finally, the case study considered the role of the classroom in the magnet school.

Since the purpose of the validation study was to replicate the work conducted in the first study, the data was subjected to several analysis strategies to examine the issues which were the topics of the first study. These topics are: (1) teacher planning and decision-making; (2) moral socialization; (3) socioemotional development of students and (4) administrative issues.

Next, analysis procedures and topical outlines were developed to guide the ethnographers in producing the analysis reports (Dasho et al, 1981b). As was the procedure in generating the case studies, they coded and/or looked for critical episodes in their narrative transcripts to document patterns of teacher and student behavior, and excerpted relevant sections of the narratives, interviews and teacher tapes. While detailed explanation of the analysis procedures appears elsewhere (Beckum & Dasho, 1981) the general themes of these analysis reports can be summarized as follows:

Teacher Planning:

1. What is the relationship between the teacher's theory of teaching and his/her instructional and classroom management plans?
2. What is the relationship between the teacher's beliefs and the learning environment created in the classroom?
3. What are the sources of change in teacher's plans (including any effects of desegregation)?

Moral Socialization:

1. What are the salient features of the normative system in the classroom?
2. What values are being inculcated vis a vis authority, work, competition/cooperation and pluralism?
3. How is the lifeworld of the classroom affected by desegregation?
4. What are the implications of the lifeworld of the classroom for social integration of students?

Socioemotional Growth of Students:

1. What plans does the teacher make to improve students' self-concepts and self-esteem?
2. What evidence is there that the teacher engages in positive behaviors toward the students? (e.g., provide positive role models, recognize opportunities to overcome stereotypic or prejudicial attitudes)
3. What is the relationship between positive and negative teacher and student behaviors?
4. What is the teacher doing to improve students' communication and social skills?

Administrative Issues:

1. What has the district done to prepare teachers for the onset of desegregation?
2. What has been the effect of inservice training on the teachers' classroom behavior?
3. What are the lines of communication between the central administration, site administrators and the community?
4. What constructive roles are site administrators taking in smoothing the implementation of desegregation at their schools?

In the section which follows, some general observations drawn from these analyses will be discussed in terms of: (1) instruction; (2) classroom management; (3) teachers' efforts to encourage social integration; (4) value inculcation, and (5) community involvement. Administrative issues are the subject of a separate paper (Beckum and Dasho, 1981b). However, before presenting these observations it is important to present at least brief sketches of the classrooms observed. The highlighted portraits of the teachers which follow present salient aspects of the teachers' views on teaching and characterize the learning environment in their classrooms.

C. Brief Sketches of the Classrooms

Located in a predominantly white lower-middle-class area, Shepherd School had taken on special education classes and applied for participation in the desegregation magnet program due to the possibility of closures from falling enrollment. The faculty is the oldest as a whole in the district. Its conservatism was reflected by the fact that the "fundamentals" magnet program required no changes in teachers' customary practice. The school took pride in having higher test scores than the district averages, as well as tight discipline. All teachers in the school are white women. There were no instructional aides.

Ms. Lollabrigida is three years from retirement--an event which she frequently mentions. She has taught at Shepherd for the past 25 years, and is generally looked up to by the rest of the teachers. For the past 10 years she has taught a fith-sixth combination class, this year consisting of 17 whites, 9 Spanish-surnamed, one black, one Japanese-Hispanic, and one Filipino. Her teaching style emphasized a back-to-basics approach and the creation of a "pleasant atmosphere."

Instruction consisted of one group (divided by grade or reading group) doing independent seatwork on workbook or text assignments while the teacher worked either collectively or individually with the other group. Whole class instruction was used for math and social studies. Enrichment activities included glee club and square dancing with other classes.

Classroom management could be characterized as emphasizing politeness and quiet restrained behavior. Students remained in their seats except to execute classroom jobs. Ms. Lollabrigida was free with praise and also was in firm control. Little disrupted the completion of work in her classroom.

Ms. Lollabrigida did not believe that children from different cultural backgrounds varied in their learning or interpersonal styles and needs. Therefore there was no effort to address sensitivity to cultural diversity. Cooperative learning interactions were not a part of this teacher's approach.

Ms. Welch had 15 years of teaching experience, some of which were with minority children. Her third/fourth combination was changed to a fourth grade which had seven minority students in a class of twenty-six. Her attitude toward teaching was that she must portray an image of forcefulness and seriousness. Instruction mostly consisted of review questions drawn from textbooks, and short lectures at the board followed by written, seatwork assignments. Students were to seek the teacher's help when working on their individual seatwork.

Ms. Welch's classroom management was based on standard patterns of action which varied little from day to day. Expectations for students' behavior were iterated in a harsh manner when students acted up. Punishment such as denial of recess or writing "I will not _____" was used, as was humiliation in front of peers.

The classroom offered little opportunity for the development of social skills and the encouragement of positive self-esteem. An immigrant herself, Ms. Welch believed that students should use education to help them succeed in assimilating into American culture as she had done. She did not attempt to address the issue of prejudice or use multicultural materials or activities.

Ms. Smith had 18 years of teaching experience, all at Shepherd. She taught a first/second combination class consisting of one black, four Spanish-surnamed, one Japanese, and 24 white students. She felt that she should be rigorous in instructing students to develop good work habits, accomplish tasks and behave well.

Instruction consisted of first and second graders alternating between teacher-led group instruction and independent seatwork.

A wide variety of enrichment activities took place (science, art, music, social studies). No multicultural focus was evident.

Classroom management was characterized by the use of praise, positive reinforcement and occasional threats to maintain a quiet and highly orderly room. The behavior of Ms. Smith's students became the prototype of that observed in the upper grade classrooms.

The minority students in Ms. Smith's class were very popular, but the teacher did not plan to place a multicultural focus on activities. She noted that she had fewer minority students during this first year of the magnet program than in the past. Because of the desire to describe only upper-grade classrooms which can be compared more readily with the teachers in the first study, Ms. Wilson's classroom will not be discussed in the findings.

Whitman School is a "downtown" school located in a community of Mexican-Americans, Vietnamese, and whites. As part of the desegregation plan it implemented a mini-magnet of four classrooms for ELP (MGM) students to attract white students from the suburban areas. While the school as a whole is 40 percent Vietnamese and 40 percent Spanish-surnamed, the mini-magnet is approximately 80 percent white. The mini-magnet is contained in an open classroom space as are the other clasrooms in the school building. Because of the tremendous overcrowding at the school (750 children in a facility designed for 450) portable classrooms occupy most of what had been the playing field. While the faculty are ethnically mixed, all teachers in the ELP program are white women. At the time of the observations, there were no instructional aides; however, by January monies were freed up to hire a resource teacher and

three aides for the magnet program. In addition, tutors from the nearby state college were frequent visitors.

Ms. McCarthy is in her early forties and has taught a variety of students including inner-city blacks, psychotic children, Hispanics, Samoans, and Vietnamese and ESL. This is her eighth year at Whitman. At the time of the observations her sixth grade class consisted of twenty-five whites, two Spanish-surnamed, one Asian and one black student, making it the "whitest" class she has ever had.

Ms. McCarthy's teaching emphasized personalized interactions with students and the active involvement of students in decision-making. Curriculum emphasized language arts including drama, poetry, creative writing, grammar instruction, and journal writing. Mathematics was the only subject taught with ability groups (three), and involved small group instruction followed by individual seatwork. Additional academic offerings including geometrical structure-building, learning centers dealing with problem solving, and calligraphy.

Most of Ms. McCarthy's classroom rules were flexibly enforced and open to negotiation. Students talked continuously and were free to move about during work periods. Her application of Assertive Disicipline was selective--more often than not the teacher worked out problems individually.

A key feature of the classroom was that the teacher did not want to be viewed as an authority figure and introduced democratic decision-making to solve issues such as the assignment of parts for plays. This moral socialization in airing the values and choices possible in the classroom setting, as well as the encouragement of cooperative learning on various assignments tended to encourage social inclusion and recognition of others' feelings among students.

Ms. Easy is in her forties and has worked for 17 years in the district as a regular elementary school teacher, in programs for the gifted and establishing

media centers. Her present fifth-grade class in the ELP magnet included 19 whites, three Spanish-surnamed, two Asian, one black and one Filipino.

Her teaching style featured an emphasis on developing "self-responsibility" in children--a goal of academic and personal autonomy, and respect for others' rights and beliefs. She utilized individualized learning plans with contracts and ability grouping in language arts and mathematics. Discussion and recitation were emphasized along with both independent and cooperative seatwork. Students were encouraged to incorporate their own experiences or openness into discussions of literature and current events.

Ms. Easy was very quick to monitor students who were off-task. Students were free to move about the room if they were not fooling around. Talking out was discouraged during seatwork, and disallowed during recitation. Assignments were tracked as detailed charts and students were often asked to "prioritize" their time. Personalized praise and discussions of misbehavior were handled privately while group praise and desist moves were public. Assertive Discipline techniques were used in a consistent manner.

While the teacher indicated that the magnet program would design a multicultural social studies program to be introduced in the spring, no specific activities designed to encourage social integration were in evidence. Her class did frequently have informal discussions in which cultural (rather than specifically ethnic) pluralism was recognized. Cooperative work was an important part of the classroom and the teacher was humorous and physically affectionate with the students.

Ms. Polk is in her mid thirties and has been teaching for 11 years, six in special education classes. She enjoyed her new experience with gifted students, but was distraught over the noise and distraction of the open-space classrooms. She was casual and personable with her fourth-grade students whose ethnic

breakdown was: 17 whites, four Spanish-surnamed (Peruvian and Mexican-American), four Vietnamese, and one Filipino.

Ms. Polk's instructional practices emphasized both basic skills, especially reading, and choice and variation for students. Students received small group instruction and teacher-led discussions, but also worked indeperdently on seatwork assignment contracts, visited learning centers where cooperative tasks were possible, and did independent projects on art, sewing, reading, or computers.

This teacher's classroom management style included generous praise, rewards of computer time, and often-sarcastic verbal sanctions. Assertive Discipline was used consistently, but Ms. Polk felt it was not effective. She bemoaned that the open-space deprived her of the quietness she had been able to enforce in prior classroom settings.

Ms. Polk both included some assignments which addressed multicultural issues and made some statements praising cultural diversity. However, there seemed to be a split between whites and minorities in the class, partially due to language difficulties.

Ms. Brooks is in her mid thirties and is returning to teaching this year after a two-year absence following seven years with the district. Her experience included teaching students of many ethnic backgrounds. Her fourth/fifth-grade combination class had the following ethnic breakdown: 18 whites, three Spanish-surnamed, and four Vietnamese.

Ms. Brooks believed that she should provide organized information to enhance basic skill development while encouraging students to think creatively and share ideas. She emphasized reading and creative writing through journal writing, pleasure and assigned reading times, and creative writing related to reading assignments. Whole class and small group instruction were presented

for math and reading, but most of the teacher's time was used monitoring and individually instructing students at their desks during independent seatwork activities. The skill subjects were complimented by interesting art and science projects.

Ms. Brooks' classroom management was inconsistent. She often ignored disruptive misbehavior and applied Assertive Discipline techniques only sporadically. Often the teacher did not act upon consequences she had stated in reprimanding off-task students. She believed in the importance of good study habits and attempted to institute an individualized time management accounting system for her class.

There was little in the curriculum aimed at promoting the goals of cultural pluralism other than one story dealing with racial prejudice. Opportunities for confronting issues of cultural diversity which arose in discussions among the students were generally cut off by the teacher. Her timidity in disciplining disruptive white students created situations in which soft-spoken students (including the Vietnamese) were shortchanged when participating in discussions.

III. SELECTED FINDINGS

A. Instructional Practices

As was also noted in the exploratory study, teachers at Shepherd School did little to accommodate their existing teaching practices to the new group of students. Back-to-basics translated as "business as usual." One teacher proudly stated she hadn't changed anything in her approach in at least a decade. Certainly the ELP at Whitman School presented new instructional conditions (e.g., open space classrooms, gifted students--a new experience for three of the teachers), and limited team teaching required teacher accommodation. The teachers, however, downplayed any changes in their strategies, referring only to the pleasant conditions of teaching smart students with few discipline problems, or the negative conditions of noise and lack of administrative leadership and financial resources.

As was the case in the first study, teachers' instructional practices could be roughly divided between those which did or did not encourage cooperative learning situations. While in the first study this dichotomy also distinguished between more and less effective teachers, the same could not be concluded in the second study. The traditional teachers at Shepherd School were producing academic progress. Students neither appeared bored, off-task, disheartened, nor gave evidence that they expected school to be other than it was. The minority students were no more atomized than the other students and were in fact well integrated into the social web of the classroom. Nevertheless, it was clear that teachers were not concerned with accommodating differences in learning styles.

On the other hand, there appeared to be as many or more social outcasts (both white and minority) in the ELP program as at Shepherd. One would expect to find remediation for behavior problems in the context of an ethos of interpersonal sensitivity and cooperative task structures. Perhaps the opposite may be true--instructional formats which allow students to make academic and social choices may tend to highlight the fact that some students (although gifted) are not ready to accept the demands of self-management of work planning and time prioritization. Most students did make progress in doing independent work, and the opportunity to work independently and on collective projects, in addition to small group instruction in ability groups, provided a good deal of instructional variety.

B. Classroom Management

Three themes will be used to characterize the conditions of teaching observed in Valley City and Vista Grande: The relationship between teachers' beliefs and their classroom management style: the teacher's use of authority; and normative structure and rewards. Each is discussed below.

1. Teacher beliefs and classroom management style

Teachers' classroom management practices tended to be highly congruent with their personal tolerances and their belief system--vis a vis their view of what an ideal student is, what is required to create a good learning environment, their tolerance for noise, their moral perspective. Teachers consistently framed their plans for dealing with disruptive students, or coordinating students' actions in terms of their personal vision of the "good." In Vista Grande, as in Valley City, it was rare to discover teachers trying different approaches to "reach" or control deviance. What approach seemed necessary to the teacher in dealing with an individual was a function of their initial premises about what students (as a whole) "need."

2. Teacher Authority

Teachers manifested a wide variety of personal styles in maintaining respect and order in the classroom. A destructive form of authority was observed in only one classroom--Ms. Welch was constantly harsh and belittling toward her students. Her choice of these methods was based on her belief that students should not sheltered from experiencing failure. At the other end of the scale were teachers in the ELP magnet who abdicated their "authority" to steer the direction of the class in favor of a democratic decision-making process. Behavior modification for academic progress was applied personalistically in Valley City. Similarly, in Vista Grande classrooms, Assertive Dis-

cipline operated as a back-up to sanctions which relied on the force of the teachers' personal authority. This evidence suggests that any classroom management training strategy designed to improve, say, equitable treatment of minority and white students, would have to be designed with the idea that teacher's beliefs, and their interpersonal styles of manifesting authority must be taken into account. Rationales given for programs would need to be tailored to specific teachers' worldviews; actual implementation of programs would have to be checked against the original goals of the training.

3. Normative Structure and Rewards

Unlike the pupils in Valley City, the Vista Grande students were models of what Jules Henry so long ago described as "docility in the classroom." In the one classroom which proved the exception, the teacher was unable to establish her authority and therefore was quite frustrated by the disruptiveness of three white boys who tended to ignore her sanctions. This management problem was of a much simpler derivation than problems observed in one Valley City classroom. There the source of much of the problems was attributable to the teacher's inability to recognize cultural (class) differences in orientation to work, authority, and school. She was therefore unsuccessful in providing relevant reward structure to compete with the peer approval obtained from defiance.

While the teachers in each school were more similar to each other than to their peers at the other schools, each teacher was fundamentally unique in the sorts of normative structure and rewards and punishments they set up. This, of course, was particularly intriguing since all the teachers had been provided with inservice training in the techniques of Assertive Discipline which was the official policy at both schools. Other than the fact that student names appeared on the board sporadically in various classrooms, one would have no clue that a

systematic district-wide policy was in force. Rewards ranged from earning time on the computer (Whitman) to getting a scoop of popcorn (Shepherd).

As was mentioned above, only one teacher failed to adequately maintain the smooth flow of order and work production in her classroom. This appeared to the observers to be a crisis of personal authority which was manifested in the lack of a systematic normative structure to which the teacher could refer for the legitimation of her demands for compliance.

From the point of view of the multiculturalist, the teachers who made explicit and negotiable formulations of the normative order would be allowing the possibility of the expression and recognition of diverse student expectations and needs. Yet, it is undeniable that the minority students at Shepherd, where the normative order was externally derived and inflexible, were in no way encountering adjustment difficulties. Their schooling experience in elementary schools had clearly presented a socialization differing little from that of their white classmates.

C. Encouraging Social Integration

Although the issue of whether and how teachers' practices foster social integration has been a thread of the previous discussions, it is important to underscore the implications of instructional and social relational arrangements. The goal of social integration not only requires equal educational opportunities but suggests the reduction of social distance among the participants.

Social distance is reduced through positive interactional experiences (structural arrangements) and mutual acceptance (attitudinal set). An assimilationist perspective attempts to achieve these ends through fair and equal treatment and an emphasis on commonality. A pluralistic perspective maintains that diversity must be understood and prized by emphasizing cultural differences.

As assimilationist perspective was explicitly employed at Shepherd School and--despite concerns for respecting individuality and developing self-esteem and planned multicultural curriculum--employed in practice at Whitman.

Since the Vista Grande classrooms contained neither a majority of minority students, nor students sent to the program for a "second chance" following a history of problems at another school, one would expect to find, as was in fact the case, no reaction against the incoming students, as was the case in Valley City. Token numbers of minorities have historically found less difficulty being accepted by their classmates in schools which have desegregated. Thus, when issues of conflict or exclusion or lack of cooperation occurred the teachers were on firmer ground analyzing the situation in terms of individual differences or personal problems rather than in terms of cultural differences associated with ethnicity, or social class.

In these conservative schools, with assimilationist ideology, minority students fit in as if they were "just like the rest." This brings to bear the issue of the difference between class- and race-based difficulties. Middle-class black children tended to be accepted, and were even often among the most popular of their classmates. In the inner-city school observed in the study it was the lower-middle-class white kids, not the minorities, who were the disruptive elements in the classroom. The other minority students, Chicanos, Peruvians, and Vietnamese, had different sorts of adjustment problems that are worth mentioning here.

The Vietnamese students were greatly concerned with assimilating into the dominant culture. One teacher mentioned that they had told her they did not want to share aspects of their native culture with the class. The history of Vietnamese influx into the school bore out this observation. The students quickly became top students. However, this pattern was changing with the immigration of illiterate ethnic minorities from Vietnam whose un-westernized culture presented noticeable strains in the rest of the school. Obviously none of these children were in the ELP mini-magnet.

The two Peruvian boys in Ms. Polk's class were having academic problems directly related to their lack of facility in English and were behavioral problems as well. The teacher did not develop a strategy to involve these students constructively with their peers.

In Ms. McCarthy's class, a Chicana was drawn to the subculture of her friends who were in junior high. She was moody and sometimes insolent. She didn't participate in play at recess but would "hang out" by the fence. She was absent from school constantly "because her mother didn't care if she came or not." Marie was probably the only student in either school who refused to identify with the dominant ethos.

At Shepherd School the students were relatively atomized. Students were left to their own devises to work out friendships, rivalries, and problems on the playground as the only forum for social contact. One can only say that HAD there been racial strife in the classrooms, it could not have been handled well because no forms of conflict resolution were in evidence other than an obligatory trip to the principal's office. In the one reported instance where a minority was called a pejorative name, the student was sent to the office and the parent was notified, but the issue was not brought up in class.

At Whitman, the opportunity for social integration was enhanced by the high degree of cooperative learning tasks. The situation is obviously atypical because of the relatively high achievement of the students. Thus, no special efforts were indicated for ensuring that equal status interactions could be fostered for the benefit of minorities, poor readers, or low achievers (e.g., the sort of work pioneered by Cohen at Stanford and Slavin at Johns Hopkins).

Two of the four teachers probed students about their feelings or attempted to resolve conflicts within a public forum. Observations in these two classrooms since the conclusion of data collection for the validation study have revealed that some problems exist which did not surface earlier in the school year. For example, the lone black pupil in Ms. McCarthy's classroom told the teacher he felt strange being isolated from other blacks. Later he was in tears over similar feelings.

The evidence in our first study led to stating that at the time teachers were saturated with awareness and merely lacked concrete strategies for implementing multicultural curriculum into the schooldays filled with mandated curriculum requirements. At Shepherd School the faculty refused technical assistance offered by the regional Race Desegregation Assistance Center because

they didn't feel the need for information on multiculturalism. The teachers in the study either indicated that this area was being covered by their celebration of Chinese New Year and Cinco de Mayo, or they were not concerned with the issue at all.

At Whitman School, the ELP teachers planned to have a multicultural orientation in their social studies program which was not to be introduced until the spring (and had yet to be designed). Despite the much more liberal orientation of these teachers there were paltry few examples of any curriculum which dealt with the issue of cultural diversity. By the end of the school year, data should reveal the efficacy of the social studies program. At both schools, it can be concluded that multicultural curriculum is viewed as an add-on, as something to incorporate "later on" once the academic program is already in motion. Given that successful multiculturally-oriented classrooms we have observed seem to operate as such from day one of the school year, this seems to be one more instance of the gradual fade-in approach which is typical of districts undergoing the first year of desegregation.

D. Inculcation of Values

Two aspects of socialization will be examined in this section: the issue of pluralism, (i.e., the emphasis on multiculturalism--the encouragement of understanding and accepting differences among the students), and the issue of preparation of students for future work and life roles. Broadly speaking, these forms of value inculcation are conveyed both explicitly by moral pronouncements from the teacher, and implicitly by what is conveyed through the human environment of the classroom. Both topics will be discussed separately below.

1. Values Related to Pluralism

It is most commonplace to discuss the issue of pluralism in terms of attitudes or attitude change through imparting information or modeling of behavior. The MESE project has taken as a fundamental premise the sociological notion that the teacher is (at least nominally) a moral entrepreneur who is in a position to orchestrate a social system in which wielding the force of moral authority, he or she shapes social relations in the classroom. Where pluralism is at issue it is tempting to conceive of a conflict model of competing values, worldviews, and interactional styles, in which power will ultimately decide the supremacy of a particular (ergo dominant) culture. Pluralism would be, in such a view, a coexistence of different (hence opposing) cultures nurtured by an explicit acknowledgement/accommodation of difference, or a concerted effort among all parties to forge a common ground.

Did our observations support the notion that a conflict of values was being played out in these classrooms? Decidedly not. The observers were continuously amazed at the seamless fabric of sameness that pervaded the social world of the schools. Where were the disruptive black students like those we

had observed in our first study who clung to the intimidation and challenging behavior of ghetto culture? Where were the (we were led to believe by the literature) typical Chicanos and Chicanas who craved adult attention and recoiled from eye contact? Where were the low achievers whose schooling experience had been permeated with so much failure that the teachers threw up their hands in hopelessness? Clearly (with a few exceptions) the magnet programs did not include students who felt at odds with the world of the school.

As was discussed in the previous section on encouraging social integration, few accommodations were made to the ideals of multiculturalism.

2. Values Related to Work Roles

If classrooms are viewed as workplaces in which the next generation of the workforce is prepared for their future life roles, the two schools in this study can be said to serve two very different strata of society. Shepherd, with its students in rows doing pre-prepared worksheets, drilling, and learning the values of silence, politeness and work completion, prepares students for the production line, the accounting office and the pink-collar ghettos. Whitman, with its emphasis on self-responsibility, time management, and analytic and creative thought, serves a class of students destined for professional roles. An off-task student in Ms. Welch's or Ms. Lollabrigida's class may expect to be reprimanded with a harsh invective, while one in Ms. Easy's class is likely to be asked "What are your priorities?" These two sorts of environments reflect the intentions of the magnet programs themselves (gifted program, back-to-basics program) whereas the teachers in Valley City described themselves as operating in response to what they felt their students needed. Thus, a Chicana teacher created a strict but warm environment in which group solidarity was more important than individual achievement. A black teacher focused on basic

skills because literacy was the only perceived avenue out of welfare rolls for black youth, while human relations was considered superfluous. Clearly the various worldviews and value orientations of teachers must be examined in order to devise training intended for their use which can be perceived as germane to their social worlds.

When compared to the students observed in Valley City, the students themselves in Vista Grande displayed little curiosity about or focusing on cultural differences. Class differences (big houses, new clothes vs. hand-me-downs) were mentioned but not in relationship to ethnicity. Moral pronouncements related to pluralistic values occurred occasionally at Whitman. Ms. Polk, for example, mentioned to the class how lucky a pupil was to be able to speak more than one language. However, a more revealing example of the values espoused by teachers was Ms. Easy's statement to her black student that she didn't think of him as black but treated him like any of the other students. This notion of "color blindness" reflected in several teachers' statements on tape, refers to an ideology of fairness: All students shall be given equitable treatment by denial of the social consequences of their backgrounds. There seems to be a tendency to conceive of emphasizing differences as antithetical to the ethic of equality. Somehow teachers claim to examine individual learning and socioemotional needs, while excluding from classroom dialogue the value that it is all right to be different. The emphasis on creativity and individual expression in the ELP program ameliorates this dynamic but mostly in an implicit way. As we continue to follow up on classroom discussions which have arisen from the problems of the two black students in the ELP program more may be revealed about how issues of prejudice, identity, and acceptance will be handled. We may speculate that the teachers' liberal ideology will begin to be communicated through moral pronouncements.

E. Involvement of the Community

The principals at both schools pointed to the dramatic rise in single parent and working couple families as sources of the absence of parent involvement in the schools. PTA's have become vestigial organs of the schools, where they still exist.

At Shepherd School, no members of the community were brought in as resources, nor were there parent volunteers. The teachers in the study did not make contact with parents except as part of the conference format for reporting grades.

At Whitman the economic stratification of the students was evident in the attendance of their parents for the puppet shows. This evening extravaganza was a large project for the four classes, in which all students made puppets, taperecorded dialogue and put on skits. With few exceptions the students bused from the valley had both parents in attendance, while the white local downtown students had one parent, and the local minorities' parents were notably absent. The only student who did not participate in the show was a minority.

The magnet program (as well as the school in general) actively sought help from outside. College student and senior citizen tutors were always present in the media center and students made field trips to the nearby college. There were several occasions in which teachers contacted parents to consult with them about students' academic, or more frequently, personal problems. A newsletter about the program was sent home weekly. As a result, the teachers seemed to have a greater understanding of the backgrounds and family difficulties of their students at Whitman than at Shepherd. As the current financial situation in the district indicates that the ELP program will be shut down because of busing costs, it will be interesting to see whether or not this communication

with parents, and the obvious benefits of academic acceleration will result in a car pooling effort to save the program. Recently the program has come under attack from a black activist in the community for being racist because of the underrepresentation of minority students.

F. Follow-Up Discussions with Teachers

Following the completion of the 1980 field study, the teachers agreed to meet to discuss the case studies of their classrooms. The teachers discussed:

1. The fairness and accuracy of the case studies.
2. Any changes which occurred in the classroom since the time of the observations.
3. What they learned by reading the case study.
4. What issues they would like to explore further in subsequent observations.

1. Accuracy and Fairness

All six teachers felt that the case studies accurately depicted life in their classrooms. Three of the teachers felt that they weren't represented to be as warm or personable as they felt they were. Teachers were understandably defensive about what they took to be criticism or failings on their part, but were all interested in pursuing further research involvement to try to improve their teaching.

2. Changes in the Classrooms Since the Fall

Most changes of teacher behavior in the classrooms so far have been fairly minor compared to the dramatic ones in Valley City. The ELP program received its $92,000 grant money and immediately became more intensively academic with the addition of a science program, a full-time resource teacher, and three classroom aides. A multiracial "gang" formed in Ms. Welch's class which may prove to be a subculture to be reckoned with at Shepherd. The behavior of several children with adjustment problems has intensified and teachers have begun to act more decisively to address these problems. The introduction of multicultural activities has remained an empty promise.

3. What Teachers Learned From the Case Studies

In addition to reading the case studies, the teachers were shown portions of the narrative transcripts of classroom interactions. Ethnographers selected these portions to demonstrate episodes or patterns which were of particular interest. In part, this exercise was designed to show the teacher the process by which generalizations in the case studies were drawn from the data. A second and equally important purpose was to make a case for the need to explore some aspect of classroom life in more detail in future observations to take place during the rest of the school year.

Despite much preparation to present evaluative findings diplomatically to the teachers, the ethnographers reported that most of the teachers were somewhat "chastened" by the experience. They ruminated on whatever shortcomings in their teaching they drew from the case studies, rather than reflecting on the specific information they gleaned from the report. The interactions with the teachers tended to focus on how problems with individual students were evolving in the intervening time since the observations.

Subsequent contact with the teachers has revealed two sorts of reactions: the Whitman School teachers have tried to incorporate information from the feedback sessions into their classroom management practices, or their treatment of specific children; the Shepherd School teachers have retreated and are wary of committing themselves to more openly discussing the dynamics of their classrooms. These reactions seemed less predicated on the favorableness/unfavorableness of the reports than by the teachers' willingness to change their behavior in this context.

4. Observation Issues for Further Study

Although still in the negotiation or data collection instrument refinement stages, here are some indications of the directions that the project will take

in pursuing further ethnographic assessments of teaching practices in these classrooms.

At Shepherd School, the focus of observations in Ms. Lollabrigida's classroom will be to chart the reactions of students to praise and positive rewards to determine if these teacher behaviors elicit different reactions from whites or minorities, boys or girls. Ms. Welch will be observed to document instances in which her instructional and classroom management practices precipitate confusion and lowered self-esteem among her students.

At Whitman School, Ms. Polk's classroom will be observed to determine why there has been an absence of student leadership, and to see if the teacher can encourage minority students to take leadership roles. In Ms. Brooks' classroom, it was apparent that her inability to control disruptive students was seriously impeding her other efforts. A list of classroom management practices was offered to her, which she decided to adopt. Observations will examine how she chooses to implement these approaches and the relative effectiveness they may have for improving the behavior of white vs. minority students. In Ms. Easy's classroom, problem students will be tracked to determine how they utilize their time and what effect the teacher's interactions with them have on their task orientation and prosocial behavior. Finally, in Ms. McCarthy's classroom, the focus of observations will be on instances in which students react positively or negatively to the opportunities the teacher gives them for making decisions about the class. The effect of cooperative learning task structures on social isolates will also be examined.

IV. IMPLICATIONS FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT

The results of the exploratory study in Valley City included five critical issues relating to teacher training needs. Since the purpose of the study in Vista Grande was to corroborate or refine recommendations for teacher training, we will now summarize these issues (presented in Beckum & Dasho, 1980) and present qualifications based on the second study. Finally, additional issues relating to the design of training programs will be briefly considered.

A. The District's Role

Districts tends to do as little preparation as possible prior to implementation and during the early stages of desegregation when body-moving criteria are the main priority. Given that current compliance criteria are generally to produce an 80/20 percent balance, only token numbers of bused students will be likely to be in any one classroom. Efforts to enhance social integration and accommodate differences are, therefore, not mandated in any way from the "top" down, when teachers need direction in these areas.

Vista Grande School District corroborated the researcher's concern about the low priority districts place on inservice training. While Valley City began to include inservice training by the second year of desegregation, such would not appear forthcoming in Vista Grande. Berman and McLaughlin (1970), among other critics, note that inservice training is often used as window dressing to give the impression of commitment to change. Vista Grande has tacitly assumed that the existence of educational options is, itself, enough of a demonstration of good faith. The teachers themselves did not express a need for assistance in dealing with special needs of minority students. Thus, the

district received no requests from the schools for inservice training and could therefore make the case that none was needed.

B. Site Administrator's Role

In Valley City, none of the principals played a role in preparing the faculty for desegregation. Two of the four principals had adversarial relationships with the teachers studied and acted as deterrents to the teachers' plans or inclinations to do more work on the issues of cultural diversity. Administrative leadership and participation was viewed as essential to the adoption of school-wide improvement.

In Vista Grande, once again, the principals did not take the initiative to seek assistance. The circumstances were quite different, however. The influx of minority students at Shepherd (and at the other back-to-basics school) was so small that it occurred virtually unnoticed except for an occasional late bus. At Whitman, the principal had for several years sought assistance from both within and outside the district to deal with the Vietnamese students. The ELP program was trouble-free by comparison. The principal recognized that the ELP mini-magnet was cut off from the rest of the school, but did not initiate any remediation of the problem.

C. Teacher Training

1. Understanding School Politics

Teachers could benefit from help in understanding their rights, available resources for self-improvement and institutional survival. Teachers should be encouraged to overcome feelings of resignation and initiate change.

In Vista Grande the teachers at Shepherd were proud of their traditional orientation, discipline, and academic standards. Teachers spoke with a sense

of embattled smugness about the fact that their students learned more and that teachers in the district tried to transfer to Shepherd. There was no comparable sense of satisfaction in the Valley City schools. At Whitman School the teachers decried the lack of administrative leadership. Yet they were actually quite autonomous in shaping their program. They developed curriculum, designed team teaching, and established norms. They had written a successfully funded grant to enhance their curriculum offerings and pay for extra personnel. Nevertheless, these findings do not contradict the notion that most teachers may need information about ways of working "with" or "around" the school administration to improve magnet offerings.

2. Understanding Cultural and Ethnic Diversity

Misapplications of instructional and classroom management techniques were in evidence. Concrete strategies are needed to address students with truly different needs. Such strategies would address instruction, interpersonal interactions, counseling and rewards structures.

As was the case in Valley City, all the teachers studied in Vista Grande had had prior experience teaching minority students, yet there was even less multicultural curriculum. Human relations training was missing entirely from most classrooms. There were two teachers with counseling expertise who did provide classroom opportunities to explore student feelings and resolve conflicts. (There was one such teacher in Valley City.) The lack of accommodation for students with different learning styles was as striking as in Valley City, however, the Whitman teachers did allow a lot of cooperative work assignments. Reward systems appeared to be generally quite effective in motivating all students, which was not the case in Valley City. The Shepherd teachers were totally resistant to the notion that a multicultural orientation should

be part of the program at desegregated schools. Teacher beliefs about their roles have serious implications for the way multiculturalism should be presented in different settings.

3. Facilitating Professional Growth

Observation and evaluation of teaching practices is essential for individualized needs assessment. The establishment of trust with the evaluator, essential to secure the cooperation of teachers, can best be accomplished by giving the teachers feedback about some of their own concerns in the classroom.

Following the conclusion of data collection for the validation study in Vista Grande, the project is continuing to work in the classrooms. The intent of this involvement is to attempt to provide data directly to each teacher about some topic she agreed would be helpful. (These topics were described in the section on "Follow Up Discussions with Teachers.") This will allow us to compare the usefulness of ethnographic scripting, systematic observations, student interviews, and videotape as feedback techniques. Thus far the experience of the project support the notion that teachers vary greatly in their openness to feedback. The teachers at Shepherd strongly resist accepting the need for change. The teachers at Whitman, by contrast, have learned a good deal about their students by having a private observer at their disposal, and have incorporated information into their teaching approaches. Teacher defensiveness remains a problemmatic aspect of inservice training.

D. Conclusions

The current political context is not favorable toward desegregation. Yet, as the proportion of minority students in public schools increases, the need for examining the components of successful multiethnic school environments

becomes more dramatic. A number of tough questions must be addressed by districts as they contemplate inservice training for teachers. Does the district have the personpower to monitor and evaluate a training program? How will teachers' unions react to increased scrutiny of teachers? Should the orientation of training be different for conservative and liberal school contexts? How can proficiency testing and the accommodation of different learning styles be reconciled? No easy solutions will be found. Nevertheless, there are some clearly needed commitments from district staff development departments. First, training must be viewed as a process rather than a packaged program--the beliefs, needs, experiences, and abilities of teachers vary widely and require situationally specific interventions. This is not to say that some content areas, such as methods for incorporating multicultural curriculum or using counseling skills, couldn't be systematically presented in training modules. Rather a viable needs assessment process would be an important first step.

A second point is that staff development is most effective on a school-wide basis. The principal must be informed and committed to such a process if proper supervision is to occur. Teachers can improve morale and effectiveness of the training by sharing ideas.

Finally, it should be pointed out that prior to designing a change process --itself the subject of a vast literature--districts must be committed to the belief that quality education must include conscious examination of the academic and socioemotional needs of diverse groups of students. Only then will administrators and teachers engage in a process of self-examination in the service of educational improvement and equity.

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